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"IF NOT THE PEOPLE WHO?": PROSECUTION CORRESPONDENCE PREPARATORY TO THE SCOPES TRIAL

WILLIAM B. EIGELSBACH AND JAMIE SUE LINDER*

In the summer of 1925, the attention of the world was focused on a small Southern town of 1,800 people—Dayton, Tennessee. The object of such intense interest was the trial of local school teacher, John T. Scopes, who was being prosecuted for teaching evolution, which the state of Tennessee had—earlier in the spring—banned from the curriculum of public instruction. Newspapers from around the country and even from Europe had come to Dayton, wiring out 165,000 words a day during the trial's course. Also, Chicago radio station WGN broadcast a transcription of the trial to the listening world.¹

* William B. Eigelsbach is manuscripts archivist at the University of Tennessee. Jamie Sue Linder, a veteran journalist, is the author of the official history of the Tennessee Agricultural Extension Service (forthcoming).

¹ The Scopes Trial and its engendering and attendant issues have given rise to an extensive literature. The trial transcript was published under the title *The World's Most Famous Trial: Tennessee Evolution Case* (Cincinnati, 1925). For an excellent short introduction to the trial, see Richard M. Cornelius, "World's Most Famous Court Trial," in *History of Rhea County* (Collegedale, 1991). Several book-length studies of the trial have been published. One often referred to is Ray Ginger, *Six Days or Forever?* (Boston, 1958). Prosecuting attorney Sue K. Hicks's favorite work on the trial was L. Sprague de Camp, *The Great Monkey Trial* (Garden City, 1968). The most recent book on the trial is Edward J. Larson, *Summer of the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate over Science and Religion* (New York, 1997), which won a Pulitzer Prize in 1998. Initial press coverage has had a continuing influence on opinion of the trial. To study the media coverage and the bias that molded it, see Edward Caudill, "The Roots of Bias: An Empiricist Press and Coverage of the Scopes Trial," *Journalism Monographs* 114 (1989). The differing interpretations by trial historians are the subject of Paul M. Waggoner, "The Historiography of the Scopes Trial: A Critical Reevaluation," *Trinity Journal* N.S. 5 (1984), 155-74. A critical revision of the trial is Burton W. Folsom, "The Scopes Trial Reconsidered," *Continuity: A Journal of History* 12 (1988), 103-27. For the important roles that modernism and fundamentalism played in the trial, see Warren Allen, "Backgrounds of the Scopes Trial at Dayton, Tennessee" (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1959). For additional insight on fundamentalism and the trial, see Marvin N. Olasky, "The Real Story of the Trial that 'Disgraced Fundamentalism,'" *The Fundamentalist Journal* 6 (1987), 23-26.

Why did Tennessee pass a law (the Butler Act) banning the teaching of evolution in public schools?² A variety of motives led to the legislature's action. But the principal reason was that in the years following World War I the country seemed to undergo a moral crisis. The war had disturbed traditional habits of behavior and belief. Vice, crime, and atheism seemed to stalk the land. The theory of evolution was seen by many—especially Tennesseans—as an intellectual source of much of the moral disorder in the country. In their view, evolution, also known as Darwinism after its originator Charles Darwin, undermined religion.

The next question to be asked is summed up in the title of a Dayton publicity brochure, "Why Dayton—of All Places?"³ Accounts differ over what thrust the small Tennessee town into the clash over evolution. Sue K. Hicks, who was to become in effect the prosecution coordinator, later claimed that the notion of a trial was conceived in his office by him and local school superintendent Walter White.⁴ Others say the discussion started in Robinson's Drug Store. In any event, key elements of the case certainly came together in Robinson's Drug Store. At some point in the exchange, coal company manager George Rappleyea, aware that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) had advertised for a court challenge, suggested that there be a test case of the Butler Act in Dayton. Scopes, who had asserted earlier in the discussion that "you couldn't teach biology without violating the law,"⁵ declared he had taught evolution in his classes. Rappleyea then volunteered to swear out a warrant for the teacher's arrest and Hicks volunteered to prosecute, if Scopes did not mind being prosecuted. Scopes agreed and Rappleyea then contacted the ACLU. National publicity over the case spread faster than wildfire would in the nearby Cherokee National Forest.

Soon Scopes had a defense team composed of Tennessee lawyer John Randolph Neal, noted criminal lawyer Clarence Darrow, divorce

² In the spring of 1925 the Tennessee legislature, viewing morality as ultimately joined with religion, banned the teaching of evolution "in all the Universities, Normals, and all other public schools of Tennessee, which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the State." A copy of this law is in the Sue K. Hicks Papers, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee. Hereafter referred to as Hicks Papers.

³ *Why Dayton—of All Places?* (Dayton, 1925).

⁴ Juanita Glenn, "Judge Still Recalls 'Monkey Trial'—50 Years Later," *Knoxville Journal*, 11 July 1975, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.



The instigators of the trial in Dayton, Tennessee. Left is John Randolph Neal, right is Sue K. Hicks.

lawyer Dudley Field Malone (who withdrew before the trial). Handling the case was District Attorney George Haggard, James H. Haggard, James H. Haggard (father). Last but not least, presidential candidate William Howard Taft, in a lecture circuit and on issues and campaign.

With lawyers and the courthouse on June 3, 1925, the trial was exceedingly public. Contemporary papers everywhere have been trying to find colorful words, "religious

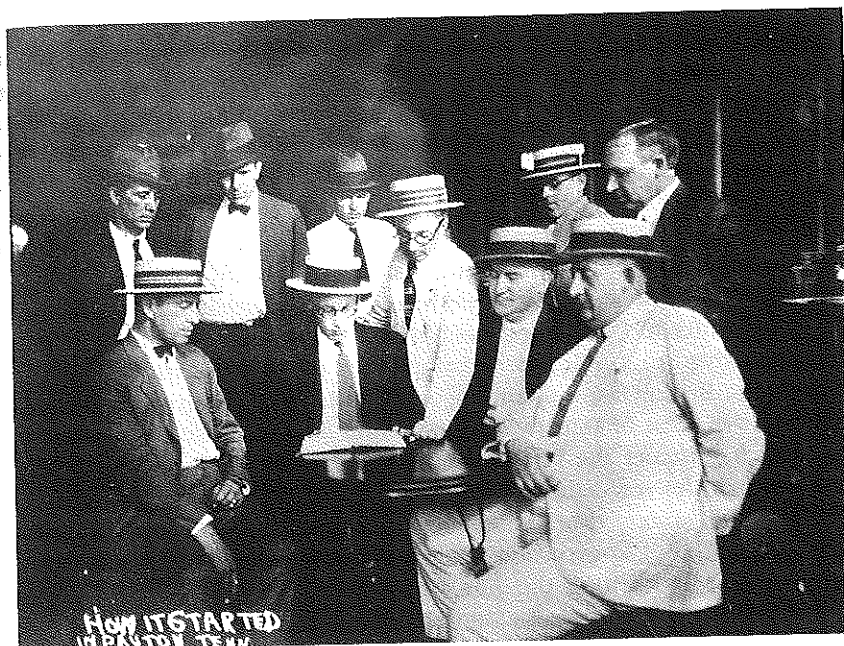
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in the title of a Dayton "3 Accounts differ over the clash over evolution. effect the prosecution trial was conceived in dependent Walter White.⁴ n's Drug Store. In any together in Robinson's coal company manager Civil Liberties Union suggested that there be a who had asserted earlier y without violating the classes. Rappleyea then her's arrest and Hicks ind being prosecuted. l the ACLU. National e would in the nearby

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Years Later," *Knoxville*



The instigators of the "Monkey Trial" posing inside Robinson's drugstore in Dayton, Tennessee. Seated with book is John T. Scopes; standing second from right is Sue K. Hicks. *Courtesy UTK Special Collections.*

lawyer Dudley Field Malone, former secretary of state Bainbridge Colby (who withdrew before the trial's start), and Arthur Garfield Hays of the ACLU. Handling the prosecution were Hicks, his brother Herbert, District Attorney General A. T. Stewart, and local lawyers Wallace C. Haggard, James G. McKenzie, and Benjamin G. McKenzie (James's father). Last but not least on the prosecution team was former presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, a popular figure on the lecture circuit and a syndicated columnist who wrote about religious issues and campaigned against evolution.

With lawyers and the press assembled, the trial began in the Dayton courthouse on July 10, 1925, with Judge John T. Raulston presiding. It was exceedingly hot and humid inside the stately Dayton courthouse. Contemporary photographs capture the spirit of the spectacle. Men everywhere have stripped down to their undershirts, and everyone is trying to find comfort with paper fans and wet cloths. In Sue Hicks's words, "religious fanatics, reds, and all manner of rabble were

assembled at this trial."⁶ A monkey called Joe Mendl appeared daily wearing a three-piece suit and a wide, toothy grin. Some welcome relief from the heat came when arguments were moved outside to the courtyard lawn because the courthouse floor was deemed dangerous for the packed-in crowd.

The dramatic high point of the case came with the examination of Bryan by Darrow. Bryan was not required to testify, but did so on the condition that he would get to examine Darrow on the stand. However, Bryan's testimony would prove inconsequential, for the jury was at least fifty feet away and could not hear the great orator's words. The trial moved to a quick conclusion after the interrogation of Bryan. To prevent Bryan from summing up—and most likely undoing the effect on the press of Darrow's examination of him—the defense asked the court to instruct the jury to find Scopes guilty. This the judge did; the jury then delivered the requested guilty verdict, and the judge fined Scopes \$100. Later the Tennessee Supreme Court ruled the law constitutional, but overturned the verdict on the grounds that Judge Raulston erred in setting the fine, instead of allowing the jury to do so.⁷

Eleven days after the start of the trial, the case that would become known as "The Monkey Trial" was history. Meanwhile, Bryan stayed on in Dayton. He and his supporters were immersed in the early planning for the establishment of Bryan College. Just five days after the trial's completion, upon returning to Dayton from a speaking engagement, Bryan laid down to take a nap and died in his sleep.

In the following correspondence, selected from the Sue K. Hicks Papers⁸ in Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, the voice of Bryan can be heard again as he and Hicks plan the prosecution case. The correspondence, reprinted here in its original form complete with typographical mistakes and errors in grammar, gives new insight into how the prosecutors of this (in)famous trial prepared to uphold Tennessee's ban on teaching evolution. The letters and telegraphs

⁶ Hicks to Bryan, 17 August 1925, Hicks Papers.

⁷ The Tennessee Constitution, Article VI, Section 6, prohibits a judge from setting a fine exceeding \$50. The statutory minimum under the Butler Act, however, was \$100. For more on the legal aspects of the Scopes Trial, see Donald F. Paine, "State of Tennessee v. John Scopes Revisited," *Tennessee Bar Journal* 32 (1996), 32-34.

⁸ This collection was donated in 1981 by Judge Hicks. He had been first approached three years previously by John Dobson and Charles Brakebill of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

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Memphis, Tenn. 4:50
Rhea County, Dayton

Will you be willing
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Dayton, Tenn. May 1

The Memphis Press
Memphis, Tenn.

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with the examination of Darrow to testify, but did so on the stand. Darrow on the stand. consequential, for the jury heard the great orator's words. the interrogation of Bryan. most likely undoing the case of him—the defense asked guilty. This the judge did; verdict, and the judge fined the Court ruled the law on the grounds that Judge of allowing the jury to do

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touch on the religious politics of the case—should a Jew or a Catholic be added to the prosecution team?—and on ways to counter possible defense arguments on either the religious or the scientific front. More importantly, the letters reveal some of Bryan's arguments concerning the real issue at stake in the trial—whether people have a right to decide what their children get taught. Also mentioned in these letters are more mundane considerations, such as providing proper housing for Mr. and Mrs. Bryan and their attendants. Altogether these letters provide a unique view behind the scenes as the stage was set for one of America's landmark trials, the Scopes Trial.

Memphis, Tenn. 4:50 PM 5-14-1925
Rhea County, Dayton, Tenn.

Will you be willing for William Jennings Bryan⁹ to aid the state in prosecution of J T Scopes.¹⁰ Bryan wired us today he would assist if permitted. Please answer at once collect.

The Memphis Press

Dayton, Tenn. May 14, 1925

The Memphis Press
Memphis, Tenn.

⁹ William Jennings Bryan (1860-1925) was a native of Salem, Illinois. He served two terms in the House of Representatives and his oratory quickly established him as a leader of a faction of the Democratic party advocating a national currency backed by silver. At the 1896 Democratic Party convention Bryan's oration against the gold standard—the speech was entitled "The Cross of Gold"—secured for him the first of his three presidential nominations. In 1912 Woodrow Wilson won the White House for the Democrats and appointed Bryan secretary of state. In 1915 Bryan resigned to protest Wilson's policies toward the war in Europe. Within the Presbyterian Church he was an elder of his local parish and served a term as vice moderator of the national church. Among his books was *The Menace of Darwinism* (New York, 1922).

¹⁰ John Thomas Scopes (1900-1970), the son of a lapsed Presbyterian and socialist, was raised in Kentucky and Illinois. After graduating from high school in Salem, Illinois—his commencement speaker was hometown boy William Jennings Bryan—Scopes attended the University of Illinois and the University of Kentucky. Upon graduation from Kentucky in 1924 he became a teacher at Central High School in Dayton, Tennessee.

We will be glad for Bryan to be associated with us in the prosecution of Scopes. Wire Bryan to get in touch with us by letter so that we can take up details of case with him. Trial comes up in Circuit Court in August.¹¹

Sue K. Hicks¹²
Prosecuting Attorney

May 14, 1925
Hon. William J. Bryan
Miami, Florida.

My Dear Sir:—

We have been trying to get in touch with you by wire to ask you to become associated with us in the prosecution of the case of the State against J. T. Scopes, charged with violation of the anti-evolution law, but our wires did not reach you.

We will consider it a great honor to have you with us in this prosecution. We will have no difficulty in obtaining the consent of the attorney general and the circuit judge for you to appear in the case.

Scopes has been bound over to the Grand Jury which meets the first Monday in August. We anticipate no trouble in getting a true bill against him by the grand jury. This will make the case be set for trial in the Circuit Court here the later part of the first week in August.

Please get in touch with us and we will send you a copy of the text book¹³ taught in the school and a copy of the statute¹⁴ under which we are prosecuting Scopes.

¹¹ The preliminary hearing was held on 9 May 1925 and the indictment was on 25 May 1925. Trial was held from 10 July to 21 July 1925. Legal action was sped up because the people of Dayton were afraid that another Tennessee city, such as Chattanooga, might act first and steal all the attention the case seemed likely to garner.

¹² Sue Kerr Hicks (1895-1980) came from a legal family. His father practiced law for forty years in Tennessee and his uncle wrote the first manual on the practice of chancery law in Tennessee. A graduate of Hiwassee College and the University of Kentucky, Hicks was practicing law in Dayton with his brother, Herbert E. Hicks, who had been recently appointed acting Rhea County attorney, when the Scopes case arose. Sue Hicks, as the initial prosecuting attorney, coordinated the prosecution efforts.

Hicks & Hicks
Dayton, Tennessee
May 16, 1925.

Gentlemen:

Your letter has
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Please note that

Columbus, Ohio
May 20, 1925

My Dear Mr. Hick
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Coconut Grove, I

¹³ George William
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family. His father practiced law
wrote the first manual on the
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recently appointed acting Rhea
rose. Sue Hicks, as the initial
tion efforts.

Yours very truly yours,
[unsigned]

Hicks & Hicks
Dayton, Tennessee.
May 16, 1925.

Gentlemen:

Your letter has just been received, but Mr. Bryan is travelling¹⁵ and will not return till the seventh of June. It is impossible for him to attend to correspondence while he is on the road, but I am forwarding your letter to him in case he wishes to get in touch with you. Until the first of June, he will be stopping at the Deshler Hotel, Columbus, Ohio.

Please note that his home address is Coconut Grove, Fla.

Very truly yours,
W. E. Thompson
Secretary to Mr. Bryan

Columbus, Ohio
May 20, 1925

My Dear Mr. Hicks:

Your kind favor at hand, I appreciate your invitation. Shall be pleased to be associated with your firm in the case. I shall be at be at Coconut Grove, Florida after June 7th. I shall leave St. Louis about 9 on

¹³ George William Hunter, *A Civic Biology: Presented in Problems* (New York, 1914).

¹⁴ The main portion of the act is as follows: "An Act prohibiting the teaching of Evolution Theory in all the Universities, Normals, and all other public schools of Tennessee, which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the State, and to provide penalties for the violation thereof. . . . Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee; that it shall be unlawful for any teacher in the Universities, Normals, and all other public schools in the State . . . to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals." Copy in Hicks Papers.

¹⁵ Bryan was on another of his frequent lecture tours. A common topic for his talks was religion.



William Jennings Bryan. *Courtesy McClung Historical Collection.*

the evening of June 3 on L.& N., pass through Nashville next on the way to Tallahassie via Birmingham, Montgomery—Pensacola. If Dayton is near the road shall be pleased to see you en route. The present, an issue of vital importance.

I shall of course, serve without compensation.

Yours truly,
W. J. Bryan

Dayton Tenn
May 20, 1925

William Jennings Bryan
University Club
Chicago Ill.

Board your train in Nashville June Fourth. Wire if schedule changed.

S K Hicks

Dayton, Tennessee,
May 21

To Mr. William Jer
Pittsburg, Penn.

We will be glad
charges with violat

Hon. W. J. Bryan
c/o Hotel Deshler,
Columbus, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—

Your telegram
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Wire if schedule changed.

Dayton, Tennessee,
 May 21

To Mr. William Jennings Bryan
 Pittsburg, Penn.

We will be glad for you to assist us in the prosecution of Scopes
 charges with violation of anti-evolution act.

Sue K. Hicks & Wallace C. Haggard¹⁶
 Prosecuting Attornies

Hon. W. J. Bryan
 c/o Hotel Deshler,
 Columbus, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—

Your telegram received today. July 10th has been definitely fixed as
 the date for the trial of the evolution case.

If possible we would like to see you somewhere along your route
 home. Dayton is near Chattanooga and if you could change your plans
 as set out in your letter of May 20th, so as to be in Chattanooga during
 the first days of June, it would be possible for all of the attorneys
 interested in the prosecution to meet you there and confer with you
 about the trial.

From all indications quite a number of noted scientists and
 Modernists¹⁷ will attend this trial and give testimony in behalf of the
 defendant, which testimony will, of course, tend to show that the text
 book used by the defendant in his school work and which teaches the
 theory of evolution, does not conflict with the story of the Divine
 Creation of man as taught by the Bible. Of course, it will be necessary

¹⁶ Wallace C. Haggard was the son of Andrew Pleasant Haggard, local
 businessman and chairman of the board of commissioners of Dayton,
 Tennessee. Wallace held degrees in civil engineering and law.

¹⁷ The term "modernist" arose within the Catholic Church around the turn of the
 century to describe those who felt that the religious teachings of the Church
 had to be made compatible with modern thought. Modernists generally
 denied the reality of the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, and miracles.

for us to refute this testimony and to this end we will need the aid of able men and Fundamentalists, and we know that you know many prominent men, who would be glad to come here at their own expense and give testimony showing their views and proving that the theory of evolution does conflict with the Bible.

In the event you find it impossible to meet us en route, please write us, advising the names of such men and scientists as would be helpful to the prosecution. We will appreciate any suggestions you have to offer.

Respectfully
[unsigned]

Fort Pitt Hotel

May 28, 1925

My dear Mr. Hicks:

I am very sorry I can not stop off but before leaving home I arrange to reach Tallahassee at about two o'clock on June 5 and as the legislature is just about ready to adjourn I can not delay.¹⁸ I wired you last night asking one of you to meet me en route. You might meet me at Nashville at 8 AM, ride to Decatur on train from St. Louis to Montgomery. It leaves Nashville at 8:40. From Decatur you could return to Chattanooga. This would give us about four hours together on the train, which would I think be sufficient for plans necessary now. I have been explaining the case to audiences. It is the *easiest* case to explain I have ever found. While I am perfectly willing to go into the question of evolution, I am not sure that it is involved. The *right* of the *people* speaking through the legislature, to control the schools which they *create* and *support* is the real issue as I see it. If not the people, who? A few scientists, one in ten thousand? No such oligarchy would be permitted. Who then controls? The teachers? That too is absurd. An employee works under the direction of this employer. The folly of the position taken by the defendant is apparent. He is hurting all school-teachers. Heretofore, an evolutionist could teach because people could direct him but now that the question is raised the school boards will find out the *beliefs* of the teacher in *advance*. See enclosed

¹⁸ Bryan was scheduled to address the Florida legislature. At this time it was not unusual for state legislatures to have some prominent speaker address them before adjourning.

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than any one else.

By the way I don't
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a test case and will e
prominent ministers
There is a scientist¹⁹.
Am anxious to confere

Dayton, Tenn
May 28th, 1925

William J. Bryan
Columbus, Ohio

Can meet you in Bir
either place.

Dayton Tenn
Yr William J. Bryan

Fort Pitt Hotel
Pittsburgh
May 30, 1925

My dear Mr. Hicks:

¹⁹ The scientist in qu
he was professor
the author of *The*
Centre College, *Papers*.

s end we will need the aid of
know that you know many
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press dispatch. Mr. Scoops will find that he has hurt the teacher more
than any one else.

By the way I don't think we should insist on more than *minimum*
fine and I will let defendant have the money to pay it if he needs it. It is
a test case and will end all controversy. As to evidence I will get some
prominent ministers of *several* denominations to testify on our side.
There is a scientist¹⁹ at the college at Danville KY. who is on our side.
Am anxious to confer with you.

Yours truly,
W. J. Bryan

Dayton, Tenn
May 28th, 1925

William J. Bryan
Columbus, Ohio

Can meet you in Birmingham, or Nashville if you have any stop over at
either place.

S. K. Hicks

Dayton Tenn
Yr William J. Bryan gone Coconut Grove Fla.

Dely Columbus Ohio 5-28-25

Fort Pitt Hotel
Pittsburgh
May 30, 1925

My dear Mr. Hicks—

¹⁹ The scientist in question was Charles Bell McMullen (1871-?). A psychologist,
he was professor of Philosophy and Ethics at Centre College. McMullen was
the author of *The Logic of Evolution* (Boston, 1925). See Hicks to President
Centre College, 4 June 1928, and Rainey to Hicks, 15 June 1925, in Hicks
Papers.

To be sure that you know my route I write again to say that I leave St. Louis at 8:45 evening Wednesday 3rd reach Nashville early next morning to go South on same or connecting train to Birmingham Montgomery. Pensacola and Tallahassee. Shall be glad to meet you at any place along the line. I suggested you ride from Nashville to Decatur if it is more convenient. I notice that the case is exciting a good deal of attention.

You can wire me at Champaign, Ill. on Monday afternoon or Tuesday at Springfield, Ill. and on Wednesday forenoon at Jacksonville, Ill.

Yours truly,
W. J. Bryan

Dayton, Tenn.
May 30, 1925

William Jennings Bryan,
University Club
Chicago, Ill.

Board your train Nashville June fourth.²⁰ Wire if schedule changed.

S. K. Hicks.

June 7, 1925

Mr. S. K. Hicks
Hicks & Hicks
Dayton, Tennessee.

My dear Mr. Hicks:

²⁰ On 8 June 1925 Sue K. Hicks wrote his elder brother, Reese V. Hicks, a description of the meeting: "We went to Nashville last week and met with Mr. Bryan for a conference. We were with him from eight o'clock till four o'clock in the afternoon most of the time in state room on the train and we talked about this case most of the time he is very enthused and is making great plans for this case he says that it is a turning point for Christianity." S.K. Hicks to R.V. Hicks, 8 June 1925, Hicks Papers.

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me in Dayton. You
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Wire if schedule changed.

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m eight o'clock till four o'clock
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hused and is making great plans
for Christianity." S.K. Hicks to

On arrival this morning I find that Mrs. Bryan²¹ prefers to stay with me in Dayton. You can, therefore, cancel the reservations at the resort hotel on the hill and find me, if you will please, four rooms with a bath in the hotel or, better still, in a private home. We will need three bedrooms with two beds each and would like, if possible, one room for a general reception room. The last mentioned room is not absolutely necessary but is desirable if it can be obtained. Please wire me at my expense what arrangement can be made and cost of same by day or by week.

The second matter is suggested by a news item to the effect that a motion to quash²² has been filed. I suppose the motion will not be heard until the tenth. In view of the fact I am not acquainted with the Tennessee law at all and have not appeared in court for some twenty eight years,²³ I am wondering whether you and Mr. Haggard think we need any prominent Tennessee lawyer to assist us on the law points. They have Darrow²⁴ and Neal.²⁵ I do not know anything about Mr. Neal's experience, but from his former position in the University I assume that he is a lawyer of some prominence. Darrow is, of course, a

²¹ Mary Baird Bryan (1861-1930) married William Jennings Bryan in 1884. She aided him in all his enterprises.

²² The motion was made on the first day of the trial, 13 July 1925. After acrimonious discussion by the various lawyers, particularly Darrow and Stewart, the judge ruled the next day for the prosecution.

²³ After leaving office as secretary of state, Bryan had joined an international law firm, but with his defeat in 1896 for the presidency, he decided to abandon law in order to devote all his energies toward winning the 1900 presidential nomination.

²⁴ Clarence Seward Darrow (1857-1938) attended Allegheny College and the University of Michigan. After practicing law for a while in Ohio, he moved his law practice to Chicago. Darrow became active in Democratic politics as an associate of Governor John Peter Altgeld. After a period as a railroad lawyer, Darrow became a criminal lawyer and a lawyer for the more radical labor unions. Next to the Scopes Trial, his most famous trial was his defense of the teenage thrill killers Loeb and Leopold; Darrow's securing for them a life sentence, rather than death, was considered a great legal victory.

²⁵ John Randolph Neal (1876-1959) was a native of Rhea County. He attended the University of Tennessee, Vanderbilt, and Columbia. In 1923, Neal, who taught law, was fired, along with several other professors, by the University of Tennessee. Though he always felt that this was due to his support of evolution, it was more probably a consequence of his erratic teaching methods. Neal then proceeded to establish in Knoxville his own law school. In addition to his legal work he was active in Democratic Party politics.